

CHAIRMAN MAO'S LATEST INSTRUCTIONS  
Canton, Wen-ko T'ung-hsun, 9 October 1967

[Full text]

1. The army's prestige must be resolutely safeguarded and there can be no doubt whatever about that. Publication of editorials on the need to support the army and cherish the people is the center of work at the present time. It is unavoidable that the army should have made mistakes in tackling for the first time the large-scale fighting task of supporting the left, supporting industry and agriculture and carrying out military control and military training. The chief danger at the moment is that some people want to beat down the PLA!

2. There must be no chaos in our army. If there are problems within the Liberation Army, negotiations can be conducted within the scope of each individual province.

3. The most fundamental point of reform of State organs is to establish ties with the masses. Institutional reform must be adapted to establishment of ties with the masses. There must not be any effort to promote bureaucracy.

4. Public security organs are a knife in the hands of the proletariat. If properly grasped, they can be used to attack the enemy and protect the people; if not, they can easily be used against us. If they are taken away

by the enemy, there will be even greater danger. Hence, public security work can only be under the direct leadership of the Party Committee and cannot be under the vertical leadership of the relevant government department.

5. If there are two factions in an organ, I do not believe that one must be Leftist and the other rightists. I think that they can be united.

6. One must be strict with oneself and be lenient to others, and must handle contradictions among the people from the level of class struggle.

7. We should have quotations compiled from Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin as well as from Lu Hsun.

8. The chief task of power seizure consists of mass criticism, great alliances and rapid realization of "three-in-one combination." I hope that you will set an example in the struggle against the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. I hope that you will become models in opposing anarchism, the mountain-stronghold mentality, economism, and egoism.

9. Judging from China's successive revolutions and from my personal experience, real promising men are those who think, and not those who show off. People who are now making trouble and noises shall certainly become characters who just flash across the stage of history.

10. It appears that there must be two prerequisites for a great alliance: The first is to destroy self-interest and foster devotion to public interest, and the other is to consolidate the alliance only through struggle... The great majority of the hoodwinked are workers and peasants and Party and League backbone elements. But we must have faith in over 95 percent of the masses and cadres. Therefore, the question of faith among people who are temporarily deceived deserves to be discussed by us all. Since the workers and peasants have had no direct contacts with the counter-revolutionary revisionists, since the counterrevolutionary revisionists are holding red flags to oppose the red flag and holding the banner of the Party Central Committee, and since the broad masses of workers and peasants and Party and League backbone elements cherish strong class sentiments, they can be easily deceived. But if only they awaken, all will be well again.